

Message Text

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4550
USDELSEC PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 QUITO 3606

EXDIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC IMMEDIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, ROSALYNN), PFOR
SUBA: MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION--COSTA RICA

1. THE FOLLOWING CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE MAY 31, 1977, IN PRESIDENT ODUBER'S OFFICE, SAN JOSE. PARTICIPANTS WERE:
U.S.: MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER, CHARGE LOWELL C. KILDAY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TERENCE A. TODMAN, AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE MARVIN WEISMAN, ROBERT PASTOR, NSC, MARY HOYT, PRESS SECRETARY FOR MRS. CARTER, STEPHANIE VAN REIGERSBERG AND JOHN F. MAISTO, NOTETAKER.
COSTA RICA. PRESIDENT DANIEL ODUBER, FOREIGN MINISTER GONZALO FACIO, MINISTER OF EDUCATION FERNANDO VOLIO, MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT FERNANDO NARANJO, MINISTER OF ECONOMY JORGE SANCHEZ AND MRS. MARJORIE ODUBER.

2. AFTER OPENING PLEASANTRIES, DURING WHICH TIME MRS. CARTER RECALLED THAT THE PRESIDENT LEFT A MEETING OF SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES TO MAKE A CONGRATULATORY TELEPHONE CALL TO HIM ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVING THE SCHWEITZER AWARD, PRESIDENT ODUBER SPOKE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE SAID THAT HE IS HAPPY THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE US. ARE INVOLVED IN AN AREA THAT COSTA RICA HAS LONG BEEN
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FIGHTING FOR, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT BOTH COUNTRIES CAN MOVE AHEAD TOGETHER. MRS. CARTER SPOKE OF THE SIGNING THE NEXT DAY OF THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS NOTING THAT SHE HAD SPOKEN WITH PRIME MINISTER MANLEY ON THIS SUBJECT, AND THAT MANLEY PROMISED TO TAKE IT UP WITH CARICOM COUNTRIES AT THEIR NEXT MEETING, AND THAT JAMAICA WOULD SIGN. PRESIDENT ODUBER SAID THAT THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE MOVED BACKWARD ON

HUMAN RIGHTS, WHILE THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN HAVE MOVED FORWARD.

3. ODUBER STATED THAT MINISTER OF EDUCATION FERNANDO VOLIO, FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO AND HE WOULD GO TO THE UNGA TO WORK ON HUMAN RIGHTS. VOLIO NOTED THAT HE IS WORKING WITH TOM FARRER, PROFESSOR OF LAW OF RUTGERS UNIVERSITY AND A MEMBER OF THE INTER AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, OF WHOM HE HAS HIGH ESTEEM. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE HAS ASKED FERNANDO VOLIO TO GIVE AMBASSADOR TODMAN A MEMORANDUM WITH COSTA RICAN SUGGESTIONS FOR SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN INTER-AMERICAN AND UN HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY.

4. ODUBER STATED THAT ONE WAY TO ATTACK HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL IS NOT TO ANTAGONIZE COUNTRIES, BUT RATHER TO BE EMPHATIC SUPPORTERS OF COUNTRIES THAT ARE HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS. HE SPOKE OF SPECIAL TREATMENT IN LOANS AND ASSISTANCE. HE SAID THAT IN THE PAST, IT WAS EASIER FOR DICTATORSHIPS TO RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL LOANS; THEY APPEARED TO DO THINGS MORE RAPIDLY AND EFFICIENTLY. HIS IDEA WOULD BE TO MAKE SURE THAT DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES GET SPECIAL TREATMENT.

5. ODUBER GAVE A RUNDOWN ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. HE STATED THAT GUATEMALA IS MAKING A TREMENDOUS EFFORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE. HE SAID THAT SALVADOR IS A PROBLEM, THAT HE HAS TALKED WITH SALVADORAN LEADERS, AND THAT HE FEELS THAT AFTER THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFICE IN JULY, POSITIVE MEASURES WILL BE POSSIBLE. HE STATED THAT THE BEST PROSPECTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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PROGRESS ARE IN HONDURAS. REGARDING NICARAGUA, HE SAID THAT THE KEY THERE IS TO DO AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO END THE STATE OF SIEGE, AND FOR THE LIBERAL PARTY, WHICH IS THE STRONGEST PARTY THERE, TO CHOOSE AS ITS NEXT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SOMEONE WHO IS NOT A RELATIVE OF SOMOZA.

6. ODUBER PROCEEDED TO SPIN HIS OWN THEORY REGARDING POLITICAL REALITIES IN LATIN AMERICA: WHEN THERE IS AN INDIAN MAJORITY, THE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS WINS ELECTIONS. THE REASON: INDIANS REVERE ANCESTRY AND AUTHORITY, AND THEIR VOTE IS A VOTE FOR AUTHORITY. THE EXCEPTION IS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE. HE SAID THAT HE KNEW CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN BEST, AND THAT THIS THEORY WAS ESPECIALLY VALID THERE. HE CONTINUED THAT IN THE CARIBBEAN THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRIES ARE DEMOCRATIC, AND THAT HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THESE COUNTRIES. HE SAID HE FELT THE SAME ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA, NOTING THAT THE BEST PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN HONDURAS, GUATEMALA, SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA IN THAT PRIORITY ORDER, AND IN PANAMA AFTER THE CANAL SITUATION IS RESOLVED. HE SAID THAT U.S. STATEMENTS AND POLI-

CIES WILL BE INSTRUMENTAL IN SUCH PROGRESS.

7. THE PRESIDENT MUSED ABOUT PROBLEMS IN THE AREA WHICH HE DISCUSSED WITH DEAN RUSK 15 YEARS AGO: CUBA, HAITI AND PANAMA. HE IS PLEASED WITH THE CLEAR US. POLICY ON CUBA AND PANAMA. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HAITI IS A PROBLEM, AND THAT FOR THE SAFETY OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND THE CARIBBEAN, SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE THERE. FERNANDO VOLIO NOTED IT IS NECESSARY TO KEEP ON TALKING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER FOR HAITI TO BE AFFECTED.

8. PRESIDENT ODUBER RETURNED TO THE CARIBBEAN THEME, NOTING THAT HE FEELS THAT WITH THE NATURAL RESOURCES, TECHNOLOGY FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND THE ASSISTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, THE NATIONS IN THE AREA--AGAINST THE BACK-DROP OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS--CAN FLOURISH. IN RESPONSE TO MRS. CARTER'S QUESTION AS TO WHAT CAN BE DONE SPECIFICALLY, CONFIDENTIAL

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ODUBER STATED THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO REORGANIZE AND EXPAND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET WITH A VIEW TO MERGE IT WITH THE CARICOM, AND POSSIBLY EVEN WITH THE ANDEAN GROUP. HE ALSO SPOKE OF MULTILATERAL ENTERPRISES SUCH AS NAMUCAR, AND FERTICA. IN THIS LINE HE SPOKE OF DEVELOPING THE ALUMINUM INDUSTRY IN THE CARIBBEAN AND PHOSPHATES IN BAJO CALIFORNIA IN MEXICO. HE ALSO SPOKE OF INDUSTRIAL OPERATIONS TO TAP RESOURCES IN DEEP SEA BEDS.

9. ODUBER NOTED THAT VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA MUST BECOME INTERESTED IN A CARIBBEAN OUTLOOK, AND THAT WITH SUCH AN OUTLOOK THE THREAT OF DUBA IS DIMINISHED. ON HATI, THEIR LACK OF HUMAN RESOURCES THERE WAS NOTED. ODUBER SAID THAT FRANCE HAS CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY REGARDING HAITI--TO PROVIDE TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE. HE STATED THAT DUVALIER WOULD LIKE IT, AND HE WILL RAISE THIS WITH THE GOF IN HIS VISIT LATER IN JUNE.

10. ON BELIZE, FACIO NOTED THAT COSTA RICA HAS CONVINCED THE GUATEMALANS TO ABANDON THEIR PURELY JURIDICAL BASIS FOR THE DISPUTE. FACIO NOTED THAT SOME BELIZE TERRITORIES ARE OCCUPIED BY GUATEMALAN INDIANS; THE IDEA WOULD BE FOR GUATEMALA TO GET THE TERRITORY WHERE THE INDIANS LIVE. ODUBER ELABORATED THAT THE SOLUTION SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE AREA SOUTH OF THE MONKEY RIVER, AND THE LINE DRAWN SOMEWHERE THERE. ODUBER STATED THAT HE HAD TRAVELED TO PANAMA TO DISCUSS THIS AND OTHER ISSUES WITH TORRIJOS. ODUBER ALSO STATED THAT COSTA RICA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TORRIJOS' BEING CONTAINED ON THE CANAL PROBLEM. HE STATED THAT TORRIJOS BELIEVES IN PRESIDENT CARTER, AND THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT A SOLUTION TO THE CANAL PROBLEM IS FINALLY WITHIN REACH DUE TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S LEADERSHIP.

11. FACIO SAID HE THOUGH HE HAD FOUND THE SOLUTION TO BELIZE-GUATEMALA DISPUTE: FOR GREAT BRITAIN TO CEDE BELIZE TO GUATEMALA, AND FOR GUATEMALA TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO BELIZE.

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12. MRS. CARTER ASKED PRESIDENT ODUBER WHETHER THERE WERE ANY SPECIAL MESSAGES THE PRESIDENT WANTED HER TO TAKE BACK TO THE PRESIDENT. PRESIDENT ODUBER RESPONDED THAT THE FIRST IS THAT COSTA RICA IS FIRMLY BEHIND HIM ON HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMILITARIZATION, AND THE NEED TO REDUCE ARMS SPENDING ACROSS THE BOARD. AFTER STATING HE DIDN'T WANT TO BOTHER MRS. CARTER ON TRADE, AND BEING URGED BY FACIO AND MRS. CARTER TO DO SO, ODUBER TURNED TO THAT SUBJECT.

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13. HE SAID THAT COSTA RICA'S BEST MARKETS ARE IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS. HE SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF THE LOME CONVENTION, LATIN AMERICA IS NOW DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY EUROPE. AS A RESULT, LATIN AMERICA TURNS ITS EYE TO ITS BEST CUSTOMER: THE US. ODUBER STATED THAT COSTA RICA DOES NOT WANT A LOME CONVENTION FOR LATIN AMERICA; HE SAID THAT NEITHER THEY NOR THE

US. BELIEVES IN IT. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT UNTIL EUROPE DROPS ITS TRADE BARRIERS TO LATIN AMERICA, THE US. SHOULD TRY TO DO SOMETHING FOR LATIN AMERICA. HE SATED THAT THIS IS AN IMPORTANT TEST FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. WHAT HE HAD IN MIND, HE SAID, WAS DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOR OF SMALL COUNTRIES THAT HAVE GOOD HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. HE NOTED COSTA RICA'S PROBLEMS IN TRADE: SUGAR, MEAT, TEXTILES, CHAYOTE(INDIAN SQUASH). HE SAID THAT COSTA RICAN PRODUCTION IS SO SMALL THAT ANY HELP THE US. GIVES IN THESE AREAS WOULD MAKE A GREAT DIFFERENCE.

14. REGARDING COFFEE PRICES, ODUBER STATED THAT \$3.00 LB. IS A NORMAL PRICE IN TERMS OF THE COST OF THE GOODS THAT COSTA RICA HAS TO IMPORT, ALTHOUGH IT MAY SEEM HIGH TO CONSUMERS. HE STATED THAT THE COSTA RICA HAS BEEN ABLE TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF ITS POPULATION DUE TO BETTER PRICES. A HUGE DROP IN
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COFFEE PRICES WOULD MEAN A TREMENDOUS BLOW TO STANDARDS OF LIVING IN COSTA RICA; IT WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY SOCIAL CHAOS. GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE TO PURCHASE WEAPONS TO COMBAT THE CHAOS; COSTA RICA IS NOT INTERESTED IN THAT SORT OF THING.

15. FACIO NOTED THAT COSTA RICA MAKES A GREAT EFFORT TO DIVERSIFY ITS ECONOMY; FOR EXAMPLE, IT GOES INTO CATTLE PRODUCTION. THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IS DEVELOPED WITH THE US. MARKET IN MIND. THEN COSTA RICA IS THWARTED BY US. IMPORT LIMITS.

16. AMBASSADOR SILVA SAID THAT THE PEOPLE WHO DETERMINE THE LEVELS OF US. IMPORTS DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEW PRODUCERS; THEY ONLY LOOK AT THE HISTORIC FIGURES OF PRODUCTION. HE NOTED THAT THE PRINCIPLE HAD BEEN BROKEN IN 1976 WITH A DECLARATION OF A SPECIAL QUOTA FOR PANAMA WHICH WAS NOT BASED ON PAST PERFORMANCE.

17. PRESIDENT ODUBER SPOKE OF COSTA RICA'S ATTEMPT TO MAKE A MEAT DEAL WITH JAMAICA, ONLY TO BE UNDERSOLD BY AN AUSTRALIAN DUMPING PROCEDURE. IN RESPONSE TO MR. PASTOR'S OBSERVATIONS THAT THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD MIGHT WANT TO SUGGEST TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRY MEAT PRODUCERS TO REDUCE THEIR SHARE OF MEAT EXPORTS TO THE US. TO HELP DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, ODUBER STATED THAT US. PRESSURE WOULD BE MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE.

18. MRS. CARTER NOTED THAT US. DOES NOT WANT TO MAKE ANY PROMISES IN THE TRADE AREA, BUT, SHE DID WANT THE PRESIDENT TO KNOW THAT AMBASSADOR STRAUSS IS PLANNING A REVIEW OF THE ENTIRE PROGRAM. THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT IF CHANGES ARE MADE, SO MUCH THE BETTER. HE SAID THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THE US. PROBLEMS, AND THAT IF THESE PROBLEMS ARE NOT SOLVED, COUNTRIES SUCH AS COSTA RICA WILL TRY TO SEEK QUOTE DIFFERENT COM-

PENSATIONS UNQUOTE..

19. THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT HE HAD A NEW PROBLEM TO PRESENT.
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IT CONCERNS A RULE THAT THE INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK APPARENTLY CAN NOT MAKE A LOAN TO A NEW COSTA RICAN COMPANY NAMED SIXAOLA. HE NOTED THAT HE HAS BEEN ABLE TO WORK POSITIVELY WITH UNITED BRANDS IN AGRARIAN REFORM TYPE PROJECTS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, IN AREAS THAT PRODUCE AFRICAN PALM OIL. A JOINT VENTURE BETWEEN THE COSTA RICAN GOVERNMENT AND UNITED BRANDS WAS ORGANIZED. AN IDB LOAN IS A KEY PART OF THE DEAL. HOWEVER, COSTA RICA HAS LEARNED THAT THE IDB DOES NOT GRANT LOANS FOR FATS AND OILS PRODUCTION BECAUSE OF FEAR OF EXTENSIVE PRODUCTION IN THESE OILS. IN VIEW OF THE US ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOY BEANS. THE LOCAL OPERATION WOULD BE FOR INTERNAL CONSUMPTION ONLY, ODUBER NOTED.

20. AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE WEISSMAN SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE HAD BEEN RESOLVED RECENTLY WITH REGARD TO A SIMILAR CASE IN HONDURAS. THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. HE ASKED FOR US. HELP IN THIS MATTER, NOTING THAT UNITED BRANDS IS INCREASINGLY DOMESTICATED WITH PRODUCTION AND MARKETING INCREASINGLY IN COSTA RICAN HANDS. HE SAID THIS MAKES SENSE, AND HE DOES NOT WANT TO SEE SUCH ARRANGEMENTS FALL APART.

21. PRESIDENT ODUBER PROCEEDED TO LIST THE AREAS IN WHICH COSTA RICA IS NO.1: BANANA PRODUCTION; PRODUCTION OF COFFEE PER HECTARE; CHAYOTE, AND LATIN AMERICAN PROVIDER OF BEEF TO THE US. MARKET.

22. MRS. CARTER RAISED THE SUBJECT OF POLITICAL REFUGEES IN COSTA RICA. ODUBER SAID THAT COSTA RICA HAS THE HIGHEST NUMBER IN PROPORTION TO ITS POPULATION THAN ANY COUNTRY IN THE WRLD (10,000 OUT OF A POPULATION OF 2 MILLION--NOTE COUNTING 70,000 NICARAGUANS). MRS. CARTER INDICATED THAT THE PRESIDENT IS INTERESTED IN WORKING WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP AND EXPAND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF POLITICAL REFUGEES. SHE SUGGESTED THAT THE INTER-AMERICAN
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COMMISSION MIGHT BE OF USE IN THESE EFFORTS. SHE SAID THAT THE US. WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMISSION FOR THIS EFFORT AS WELL AS FOR ITS PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN INVESTIGATING

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. PRESIDENT ODUBER STATED THAT ALL COUNTRIES SHOULD CONTRIBUTE PROPORTIONALLY, AND THAT COSTA RICA WOULD. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS CHARTER MUST BE AMENDED TO MAKE THE ORGANIZATION WORK MORE EFFICIENTLY. FACIO NOTED THAT A NEW, STRONG EXECUTIVE SECRETARY IS NEEDED. FERNANDO VOLIO SAID THAT HE HAD A CANDIDATE, AN AMERICAN NAMED TOM MCCARTHY, WHO HAS UN HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERIENCE. FACIO STATED THAT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SHOULD NOT BE A US CITIZEN. ODUBER AGREED. VOLIO SAID HE HAD ANOTHER CANDIDATE, A CHILEAN LIVING AND WORKING IN VENEZUELA.

23. IN RESPONSE TO MR. PASTOR'S QUESTION ABOUT THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTONOMY OF THE INTERAMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, VOLIO AND ODUBER RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY, AND SUGGESTED IT COULD BE DONE BY AMENDING THE OAS CHARTER. ODUBER AND VOLIO NOTED THAT COMMISSION IS NOW TO BUREAUCRATIC. ODUBER REPEATED THE NEED FOR SEPARATE FUNDING. AMBASSADOR SILVA STATED THAT COUNTRIES THAT VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO SUGGEST CANDIDATES FOR THE COMMISSION. ODUBER ALSO NOTED THAT WHAT IS NEEDED NOW ARE STRONG ACTIONS AND FEWER WORDS WITH REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

24. IN A FINAL NOTE ON THE CARIBBEAN, PRESIDENT ODUBER SUGGESTED TO MRS. CARTER THAT AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG BE SENT TO THE CARIBBEAN TO DEAL WITH THE COUNTRIES AND THE LEADERS IN THE AREA. ODUBER SAID HE STILL FEARS FIDEL CASTRO'S INFLUENCE IN THE BLACK CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES, AND THAT YOUNG CAN PERHAPS DEAL MOST EFFECTIVELY WITH THAT.

25. AFTER PRESENTATION OF THE BOOK OF NASA PHOTOGRAPHS, PRESIDENT ODUBER MENTIONED PRIVATELY TO MRS. CARTER THAT COSTA RICA WAS VERY PLEASED TO SEE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER
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HAD MENTIONED IN THIS OAS SPEECH THAT THE US. WOULD HELP MAKE SATELLITE TECHNOLOGY AVAILABLE TO THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA. HE SAID THAT USAID AND THE GOCR WERE COLLABORATING IN A REMOTE-SENSING PROGRAM TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT OF DEFORESTATION IN COSTA RICA, AND TO MAKE PROJECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, THE IMAGERY AVAILABLE WAS NOT TWO OR THREE YEARS OLD AND DID NOT HELP SHOW THE DEVASTATION ACCELERATION OF RECENT DEFORESTATION. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT WHAT THE TIME CAME FOR THE GOCR TO REQUEST NEW IMAGERY, HE HOPED THAT NASA WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. MRS. CARTER INDICATED THAT SHE WAS CERTAIN THE USG WOULD BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE AND THAT SHE HOPED THE PRESIDENT WOULD ENJOY THE BOOKS.
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